

Mr. Timberlake maintains admirable scholarly objectivity throughout his consideration of this hotly-debated subject. Of the book's 238 pages, fifty-five are given over to footnotes, regrettably placed at the back. Unlike other scholars who have written about this period, the author does not see the anti-liquor movement as primarily a conflict between the country and the city areas. The "essential fact" about the movement, he believes, "is not that it was either rural or urban, but that it was a middle-class reform that won the support of middle-class Protestants in both the country and the city."

David H. Stratton

Politics in a Pluralist Democracy: Studies of Voting in the 1960 Election. By Lucy S. Dawidowicz and Leon J. Goldstein. New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1963. 100 pp. \$1.75 paper.

The effort to analyze political behavior on the basis of group identification has become a mainstay for contemporary political scientists. In this study, Dawidowicz, and Goldstein examine the impact of religious, ethnic, and racial groupings on the 1960 presidential election. That election was chosen largely because of Kennedy's Catholicism.

The authors examine Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Providence, and Los Angeles in an effort to obtain a cross-section of multi-ethnic cities. In each case the 1960 presidential results are compared with other elections held at the same time or in previous years in the respective areas.

Similar analyses are made of several rural areas selected on the basis of their religious composition. These are "Bible Belt" areas in Tennessee, Illinois, and Ohio; rural parishes in Louisiana which include French Catholics, Anglo-American Protestants, and Negroes; and Lutheran and Catholic counties in Minnesota. These are valuable contributions, since relatively little has been done in a systematic way to measure the impact of religious, ethnic, or racial factors in rural America.

The final section of the book is devoted to Jewish voting behavior. One chapter examines areas in and around Chicago and Detroit to determine voting preferences of Jews of varying economic status. The other two chapters bear little relation to the rest of the book. One delves into the techniques used by both parties during the 1960 campaign to appeal to Jewish voters, but makes little effort to assess subsequent election results in relation to the various tactics used. The final chapter focuses on the frequently noted "Jewish liberal tradition," and it compiles and summarizes

the work of Fuchs, Sklare, Korn, Glazer, and others who have written about Jewish social and political life. The inclusion of the last two chapters, however interesting they may be as separate essays, gives the book an uneven quality. Perhaps this is an occupational hazard of co-authorship.

If faulty organization were the only flaw in this study, it would be worthy of high praise indeed. However, there are other major criticisms of the approaches and dimensions of this study. First, it is overly ambitious. Analyzing more than a dozen discrete and often very different political entities within a very limited span imposes severe strain on writer and reader. To handle the political behavior of Los Angeles, for example, within the confines of three pages hardly seems sufficient. A smaller number of places, each more deeply probed, might allow a better presentation of findings and conclusions than could be assayed by the method chosen.

Second, the analysis of voting behavior simply on the basis of comparative gross election results from wards or counties is a very risky business. When it is done over a long period of time, as in comparing the vote in 1928 with that in 1960, inescapable questions are raised concerning changes in the makeup of the county or district. Even when it is done within the same election or between elections held over a short time-span, the inability to produce electoral units composed exclusively of Italians, Jews, Negroes, or whatever other group is examined, leads to conclusions which often rest on shaky ground. As the authors acknowledge, adding the multi-group membership of many Americans intensifies the problem of isolating the effects of religious, ethnic, or racial characteristics on voting behavior. Intelligent guesses may be made as to which of several variables are operative, but the use of questionnaires, surveys, or other analytical tools is necessary to produce greater certainty about the factors affecting voter choice.

Despite these serious criticisms, the study has value both in its compilation of raw data (although these could be presented more clearly) and in insights of politics in specific locales. Certainly, the subject is an intriguing one which should demand continued examination. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude, along with the authors of this work, that their study "may suggest further questions which can be answered only by further research."

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